

Do people with different educational backgrounds differ  
in their description of the aspects belonging to a good  
life?

A qualitative study

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## **Abstract**

There are many different ways to define well-being, and this study deals with one way to define a higher state of well-being namely flourishing. The PERMA-Model, developed by Seligman in 2011 is one possibility to measure well-being. The model consists of the aspects of positive emotion, engagement, relationships, meaning and accomplishment. To evaluate the model of Seligman the questions of this study were: “Do the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model belong according to German people to a good life?” and “Do people with different educational backgrounds differ in their description of the aspects belonging to a good life?” To answer these questions, interviews with 24 people with different educational backgrounds (highly-educated and mid-educated) were conducted. The interviews then were analysed qualitatively by the three researchers of this study. They explored, if the aspects of the PERMA-Model belong according to German people to the good life and if the two groups with different levels of education differed in their descriptions of a good life. The results showed that the interviewees rated nearly all the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model as important, but the two groups differed in their descriptions of the good life. Differences in the descriptions of the good life were especially found when it came to the codes of engagement and the codes attitude towards life, material things and activities, which do not belong to the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model. The aspect attitude towards life was only mentioned by highly-educated people while activities were mentioned by both groups but were more often mentioned by highly-educated people. Material things were more often mentioned by mid-educated people and people from both groups understood the term ‘engagement’ in a different way than it was actually described in the PERMA-Model. Future studies should further explore these differences between the educational levels to be able to further develop the PERMA-Model so that it includes all aspects that belong to the good life according to different people.

## **Samenvatting**

Er zijn veel verschillende manieren om well-being te definiëren en deze studie houdt zich bezig met een manier om een hoger niveau van well-being te definiëren en dit niveau wordt ‘flourishing’ genoemd. Het PERMA-Model, ontwikkeld door Seligman in 2011 is een mogelijkheid om well-being te meten. Het model omvat de delen “positive emotion, engagement, relationship, meaning en accomplishment”. Om het model te evalueren zijn de vragen in deze studie: “Behoren de aspecten, beschreven in de PERMA-Model volgens mensen die in Duitsland wonen, bij het goede leven?” en “Geven mensen met verschillende

opleidingsniveaus verschillende beschrijvingen van de aspecten die bij het goede leven behoren”. Hiervoor zijn er interviews met 24 participanten van verschillende opleidingsniveaus (hoogopgeleid en middel opgeleid) afgenomen. Er werd ernaar gekeken of de aspecten van het PERMA-Model volgens Duitse mensen naar het goede leven behoren en naar mogelijke verschillen tussen de twee groepen. De resultaten laten zien dat bijna alle geïnterviewden, de aspecten die in het PERMA-model genoemd worden, belangrijk vinden, maar er zijn verschillen in de beschrijvingen van de aspecten, die naar een goede leven behoren, tussen mensen met verschillende opleidingsniveaus. Verschillen in de beschrijvingen zijn vooral gevonden als het gaat om de codes engagement en de codes attitude towards life, material things en activiteiten die niet bij de aspecten behoren, die in het PERMA-Model beschreven zijn. De aspect attitude towards life wordt alleen genoemd van mensen met een hoge opleiding terwijl mensen van beide groepen activiteiten noemden, maar mensen met een hoger opleidingsniveau noemden het vaker. Material things worden vaker door mensen met een middelhoog opleidingsniveau genoemd en mensen van beide groepen begrepen engagement anders als het in het PERMA-Model wordt beschreven. Vervolgstudies zouden deze verschillen tussen de opleidingsniveaus onderzoeken om het PERMA-Model verder ontwikkelen te kunnen om alle aspecten, die volgens verschillende mensen bij het goede leven behoren, te includeren.

## Introduction

When students are about to complete their studies, they face numerous challenges. Some students will have to pay off debt (Onibon-Oje & Tech, 2016) and others will still have to determine their general career direction (Münchmeier, 1997). But not only students have to think about their future. All humans, have to plan their future (Nurmi, 1991). Seligman, a renowned psychologist in the field of positive psychology, created a model that tries to describe the aspects which belong to a good life. The aim of this study is to test, if the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model of Seligman, match the descriptions of a good life, given by different German people. Furthermore, this study tests, if the descriptions of a good life differ between people with different levels of education. Seligman coined the term 'to flourish' to describe the aspects of the good life in his PERMA-Model. A higher state of well-being is described as flourishing (Huppert & So, 2013).

To be able to discuss the PERMA-Model and its' possible connection to well-being, it is necessary to explain what is meant with the term well-being. There are two different approaches to the definition of well-being. One is the eudemonic view, that focuses on someone's own potential and its development, in order to enable an individual to achieve higher goals. In contrast, the hedonic view describes well-being as the experience of positive emotions such as enjoyment and at the same time as an absence of negative emotions (Huta & Ryan, 2010). Some models about subjective well-being focus rather on hedonic aspects, stating e.g. that well-being is made up of: life satisfaction, pleasant affect and unpleasant affect (Diener, Suh and Oishi, 1997). By other definitions of well-being the focus lies more on the eudemonic view of well-being. One definition for example claims that well-being is the potential to reach specific aims and to manage daily tasks (Foresight Mental Capital and Wellbeing Project, 2008). Another way to define well-being is to define it in psychological terms. Psychological well-being is made up of the factors "positive relations with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, self-acceptance, purpose in life and personal growth" (Linley, Maltby, Wood, Osborne, & Hurling, 2009, p 878).

The PERMA is an acronym of: positive emotion, engagement, relationships, meaning and accomplishment. Positive emotions are the sum of positive experiences or momentary satisfaction, experienced by the person. Engagement refers to how much a person is interested in and occupied with a given task. Seligman described this aspect of his model as a state of flow. A person in this state is fully concentrated on the given task and therefore might even forget about time. Relationship refers to having connections with other people. Meaning refers to the belief of belonging to something in life that has relevance, thus to have a general

direction in life or an underlying goal that might have personal relevance. Accomplishment means that people reach their goals, even if it is only for the sake of achieving those, without any further effects on other areas in their lives. (Seligman, 2012). Most aspects manifest themselves in an individual manner as people can experience the same situations differently. For example, winning a minor lottery price makes one person happy for having won something, while another person might be disappointed of not having won more. Seligman did not describe only one way that leads to positive emotions but many experiences that can lead to different forms of positive emotions. So, every human can experience a different personal kind of positive emotions through the same events.

The PERMA-Model was recently developed in 2011 by Seligman. First, he developed the 'Authentic Happiness Theory' in 2002 but these theory neglected the aspect of accomplishment and so he developed this theory further to his PERMA-Model (Seligman 2012). There are different attempts to evaluate this Model. Butler and Kern created in 2014 the so called PERMA-Profiler, a scale that measures well-being based on the five elements described in the PERMA-Model (Khaw & Kern, 2014). Khaw and Kern (2014) tested the PERMA-Profiler on a Malaysian sample and recognized that the aspects of the PERMA-Model were significantly correlated with each other. The participants of the Malaysian sample scored lower in all aspects that play a role in the PERMA-Model than people in a sample from United States (Khaw & Kern, 2014). It was also stated that people from the Malaysian sample scored lower on negative emotion. These results may indicate that there is a difference between people of different cultures with relation to the views of a good life.

Butler and Kern (2016) found in 2016 that happiness and subjective well-being are positively related to greater educational success. People with different educational levels and often with different occupations, might have their own personal view of which aspects belong to a good life. They might for example differ in how much they value the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model. For different people some aspects might be more important than they are for others. Therefore, the question here will be, if people with different levels of education describe the good life differently by naming different aspects that are important for them in the good life.

Different studies support the idea that people with different levels of education differ in their perception of the good life. A good education can help people to deal better with the circumstances in their life and thereby education might help people to reach the good life (Frey & Stutzer, 2010). Do the descriptions of a good life thus differ in the way that highly-educated people mention aspects that might help them to cope beneficially with problems in

their lives, aspects that were not mentioned by mid-educated people or the PERMA-Model as belonging to the good life? One study found that people with an occupational mid-level education scored higher on topics such as happiness in comparison to people with higher or lower levels of education (Hartog & Oosterbeek, 1988). Further did people with an occupational mid-level education score higher on health and wealth, which are not included in the PERMA-Model. The questions that results from this study might be if these aspects also play a role in the good life and why there is a difference between different educational levels or where this difference has its origin. Another study stated that if the level of education increases, the chance of a high well-being (subjective and psychological well-being) also increases. (Keyes, Shmotkin and Ryff, 2002). Thus, there seems to be a link between education level and well-being, but is there also a link between the education level and the higher state of well-being that is called flourishing? Furthermore, it was found that if people want to have a better life in the future, they are willing to work harder in school (McInery, 2004). But which aspects belong to a better or a good life? Do people who work harder in school and thus might get a better degree describe the good life differently than people who work less for school? In which way they describe it differently and which aspects belong according to different people to the good life?

Therefore, the research questions are: “Do the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model belong according to German people to a good life?”, and: “Do people with different educational backgrounds differ in their description of the aspects belonging to a good life?”

## **Method**

### **Design**

The current study has a qualitative explorative design and employs an interview study. This study was approved by the ethics committee of behavioural sciences of the University of Twente and had the request number 17202.

### **Participants**

Purposive sampling was applied, selecting the participants based on certain characteristics, in order to distribute the participants relatively even across the categories age, education level and country of origin. 13 of the respondents were highly-educated and 11 were mid-educated. This classification is based on the ISCED (International Standard Classification of Education) 2011 classification of national education degrees. An overview of this classification can be found in the appendix (Table B). Highly-educated people were those with an university

degree or a higher vocational qualification. Mid-educated people completed an apprenticeship or had a school degree (for example the ‘Abitur’) from a higher German school without further education. From the 24 interviewees 14 respondents came from Germany, while the remaining 10 came from Russia, Portugal and Brazil. 11 respondents were female and 14 were male. The average age of the 24 participants was 50,42 years (SD= 19,10). Originally there were 25 interviewees but one of them, having the degree from the German “Hauptschule”, a lower education form in Germany, did not fulfil the participation criteria for this study, which is why his statements were excluded from the analysis. A distribution of the participants on the categories can be found in Table 1 that shows that the participants were relatively even distributed across the categories.

**Table 1**

*Overview of participants with relation to their age and level of education.*

Level of education	Young age (20-45)		Middle age (45-65)		Old age (66-95)	
	#	Nationality	#	Nationality	#	Nationality
Mid-educated	2	Russia	1	Brazil	9	Germany
	18	Russia	8	Germany	14	Germany
			19	Portugal	15	Germany
			20	Portugal	22	Germany
			21	Portugal		
Highly-educated	4	Germany	5	Germany	3	Germany
	10	Germany	11	Germany	6	Germany
	16	Russia	12	Germany	7	Germany
	17	Russia	24	Brazil	13	Germany
	23	Brazil				

*Note.* # = Number of the interviewee

## Interview

The materials used for these semi-structured interviews contained a questionnaire with demographic questions and questions about the good life. The full interview scheme can be found in the appendix. At the beginning, there was the question for which aspects constitute according to the interviewees a good life (i.e. “*What does a good life means to you?*”). Other questions in this interview assessed the respondent's interpretation of the terms used in the PERMA Model (e.g. “*What does relationship mean for you?*”). Every question that contained

an aspect mentioned in the PERMA-Model, was followed by the question: “*Does this aspect belong to a good life according to you?*”. The interviews were recorded so they could be transcribed subsequently.

## **Procedure**

The researchers were students of the University of Twente, working on their bachelor thesis. The respondents were acquaintances of the researchers, recruited via purposive sampling, based on the inclusion criteria that were, that the respondents had to be over 18 years old and are capable of the German language, since the interviews were held in German. Furthermore, there were some extra inclusion criteria. For this study there were specified educational levels required and it was aimed for an even distribution of the participants across the education levels. Also one of the two other researchers in this project needed an even distribution of the interviewees across age and the other made a research on differences of the good life in individualistic and in collectivistic cultures. Therefore the participants also needed to be evenly distributed with regard to the country of origin and age. The interviews were held in different, quiet locations, such as, the living room of the interviewees, but always in places where the participants felt safe and comfortable to express their thoughts. Prior to the interviews the interviewees had to give informed consent and were informed of the fact that there were no right or wrong answers, since the purpose of the interviews was to gain insight into their own personal definition of the good life. After signing the informed consent, the interviewees were asked to disclose some demographic information. Subsequently they were asked two open questions regarding their personal interpretation of a good life followed by (more specific) questions about the good life with reference to the PERMA-Model. At the end of the interviews all participants were given the option to disclose their email address for receiving a debriefing, or the results of this study.

## **Analysis**

To analyse the interviews, a code scheme was created. Each researcher individually coded three interviews, followed by a joint discussion about the codes. That resulted in a general code scheme applicable for all interviews. Mostly the code-scheme was created with reference to the five aspects included in the PERMA-Model so the code creation was more deductive. But there were also open questions at the beginning concerning a good life in general, where the participants were able to freely express their own personal interpretation of a good life. To capture these views of the participants in the code scheme, there also was an inductive process regarding the creation of the code-scheme. Inductive in the way, that the codes, given for this



section of the interviews, did not need to be related to the PERMA-Model. So for example a code for this part with open questions was the code 'Health'. During the coding-process there was no distinction between the first open questions and the following more closed questions. The code scheme was used in the same way for all parts of the interview. So the participants had to mention the aspects described in the PERMA-Model at least once because there was a question in the interview for each aspect. The interviews were analysed quantitatively by counting how often the interviewees mentioned the codes from the code-scheme and also qualitatively with regard to the content of the codes.

Whenever an interviewee talked for example about relationships, the code 'Relationship' was given. If an interviewee talked exclusively about relationships for a long time, the code was given only one time. If the interviewee talked about relationship and then switched to the topic of work and subsequently returned to the topic of relationship, the code 'Relationship' was given twice and the code 'Work' once. All interviews were analysed in this way and then the frequency of codes was counted for the group of highly-educated people and mid-educated people (Table 2). For a few statements, the code 'Others' was given. These statements did not fit into one of the categories of the codes, the researchers previously agreed on. The coding-process was the same for every interviewee regardless of the group the interviewees belonged to.

## Results

In this section, the views of the interviewees about the good life will be presented. The codes that were mentioned in the PERMA-Model are going to be presented firstly, followed by those which were frequently mentioned by the interviewees, thus those which were mentioned 2 times or more often on average per interview. Finally, the codes, where a noticeable difference between the two groups could be seen are going to be presented. A noticeable difference means that there is a difference in the frequency of naming the codes between the two groups of at least 25%. All the codes that were used for analysis of the interviews can be found in table 2. Table 2 also shows how often the different aspects were mentioned on average per interview by the members of the two groups and the frequency difference in per cent. The two research questions were: "Do the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model belong according to German people to a good life?", and: "Do people with different educational backgrounds differ in their description of the aspects belonging to a good life?"

Table 2

*Frequency of codes and their differences*

Codes	Highly-educated people	Mid-educated people	Average of both	Difference in percent
Positive Emotions	2.5	3.3	2.9	13.8
Social engagement	2.3	2.5	2.4	4.2
Personal engagement	1.3	0.5	0.9	44.5
Relationship	6.6	8.6	7.6	13.2
Meaning	2.6	3.4	3.0	13.3
Accomplishment	3.4	3.6	3.5	2.8
Activities	2.1	1.2	1.6	27.2
Work	2.1	2.3	2.2	4.6
Health	2.6	3.1	2.8	8.8
Material things	0.6	1.1	0.8	29.4
Money	1.9	1.6	1.8	8.6
Attitude towards life	0.8	0.0	0.4	100.0
Other	1.6	2.3	1.9	17.9
Carelessness	1.5	1.8	1.7	9.0
Enjoyment	1.1	1.2	1.1	4.4
Satisfaction	1.1	1.2	1.1	4.4
Travels	0.8	0.6	0.7	14.2
Religion	0.4	0.6	0.5	20.0

**Positive emotion**

The first aspect described in the PERMA-Model is the aspect of ‘Positive emotion’. The definition of this aspect in the code-scheme is, if people experience moments of enjoyment themselves or if they see that other people experience these emotions. This code is presented at first in Table 2 and in general the codes in the table are presented according to the sequence

in that the codes were discussed in the text. Many interviewees mentioned positive emotions together with the term success. *“I would say positive emotions are things, where I have small successes in life. It could be that one of my children earn the degree they want. Or may it be for me, that I get an appropriate position at work or that I get appreciated for the work I am doing”* (Interviewee 8, mid-educated). Members of both groups associated the term positive emotions with success and so there were no major differences in the descriptions of that aspect between the two groups. The question whether this aspect plays a role in the good life was answered with yes by all participants of the both groups. According to the participants, it is necessary to experience positive emotions to have a good life.

The element of positive emotion was on average mentioned 2,5 times per interview by the highly-educated respondents and on average 3,3 times per interview by the mid-educated respondents, while some participants mentioned it only once, one of the interviewees referred 5 times to positive emotions. The difference in the frequency of mentioning this aspect between the two groups was 13.8%.

## **Engagement**

Nearly all respondents understood engagement as ‘social engagement’, which is why the code engagement was given also to statements where interviewees talked about this social form of engagement. Statements corresponding to engagement as flow were also counted in the category of engagement but it should be noticed that the interviewees were most of the time talking about ‘social engagement’. For many interviewees engagement refers to tasks where others can benefit from. *“I think engagement was made clear in the things that I already mentioned. I see a series of tasks where I can bring myself in. That is in politics, the community work, the work for the church”* (Interviewee 6, highly-educated). It was notable, that respondents of the highly-educated group talked more about personal engagement. By that they meant fulfilling a certain task or to strive for something, driven by an underlying personal goal. An example of personal engagement in the interviews was: *“That you are prepared to interest yourself or to spent time and money on one topic, without pressure or force of somebody else. To care about the things, you are interested in or to complete it”* (Interviewee 5 highly-educated).

The aspect of personal engagement was mentioned on average 1,3 times per interview by highly-educated people and on average 0,5 times per interview by mid-educated people, that is a difference from 4.2%. Social engagement was 2,3 times per interview mentioned by highly-educated people and 2,5 times on average by mid-educated people, so the difference in percent is 44.5. This could also be seen in Table 2. The people in both groups said that the

aspect of engagement, no matter which interpretation they had, belongs for them to a good life.

### **Relationships**

The aspect of relationships was described as having relationships to other people and therefore, a statement received that code whenever an interviewee described relations to family, friends and colleagues at work or somewhere else. The interviewees mentioned that the aspect of relationships is connected to other aspects for example success. Highly- and mid-educated people stated that there are relations from which one derives beneficial outcomes and some relations are necessary to achieve a certain goal. *“There are different kinds of relationships. One kind are relationships that I need to achieve some specific goals, to be able to make a progress” (Interviewee 8, mid-educated)* People with different levels of education described relationships in a similar fashion so there were no differences between the people of the two groups.

This aspect seemed to be important for people from both groups with different education levels because highly-educated people mentioned it on average 6,6 times per interview and mid-educated people had an average score on mentioning this aspect of 8,6 times per interview. The difference in the frequency of mentioning this code is 13.2%.

### **Meaning**

In general people from both groups stated that “meaning” for them is to strive for a thing that has personal meaning for them and that remains for a long time. *“To have the sense in live, at the end a sense and an aim, to know that our live is more than 60 or 80 years, for some only 20 or less” (Interviewee 6, highly-educated)*. For a few respondents of both groups, religion played an important role in the good life. *“That is elemental in our lifes, I strive for, to get my share, that the ‘Yes’ of God applies to me” (Interviewee 6, highly-educated)*. All participants reported the importance of having a meaning in life in order to live the good life. *“Yes, otherwise you are insecure, have no internally drive and then, I would say, you will vegetate and then I would say it is no good life” (Interviewee 5, highly-educated)*.

One highly-educated person stated, that meaning is connected to a good education of the own children so that they can live the good life in the future. Also, another person of the highly-educated group expressed that meaning refers to having a good education. Here, a little difference was recognizable, namely that people with a higher education defined the aspect of education as meaningful whereas mid-educated people did not make this connection.

*“Meaning refers for me to have a good school education, that is important. That you reach*

*something great at the job” (Interviewee 4, highly-educated).*

The code meaning was on average mentioned 2,3 times by highly-educated people and 3,4 times on average by mid-educated people per interview. The difference in the frequency of mentioning this code is 13.3%, thus not noticeable.

### **Accomplishment**

The last aspect of the PERMA-Model is the aspect of accomplishment. Participants interpreted this term as a kind of success and whenever they talked about successes in sports, relationships, at work or in other areas of their life the code “accomplishment” was given.

*“That is also a small success, if you have vacation after half a year, that is great” (Interviewee 4, highly-educated).* When the participants used relationships to describe success, statements were coded as success and not as relationships. *“Success in private life is if you succeed in living in an intact net of relationships. In the family, in the circle of friends and acquaintances” (Interviewee 7, highly-educated).* The interviewees from both groups described the aspect of accomplishment the same way.

On average, it was mentioned 3,4 times per interview by the highly-educated people and 3,6 times by mid-educated people with a frequency difference of 2.8%. Only one person of the highly-educated group indicated that accomplishment does not belong to a good life. That person said that accomplishments are not important for her due to her high age. This interviewee was 66. This difference in finding the aspect as (un)important for the good life is thus not caused by education levels but by age. Nevertheless, from the statement of that respondent it can be concluded that accomplishment had once belonged to the life of the interviewee since she reported not wanting to look back only on failures. *“Yes, you do not want to have only failures but it is no more important to me in this age.” (Interviewee 3 highly-educated).*

### **Other important codes**

Other codes that were found in the interviews that are not included in the PERMA-Model, will be presented in this section. Reasons for mentioning them are, that they were frequently mentioned or that there were notably differences between the two groups in describing these aspects. The codes that will be discussed are ‘Work, Health, Activities, Material things and Attitude towards life’.

A topic that was mentioned often by the interviewees was work. The aspect of work was mentioned 2,1 times by highly-educated people and 2,3 times on average per interview by mid-educated people. So, there is no noticeable difference in the frequency of mentioning

this aspect (4.6%) but it seems to be a part in the lives of many people. *“A good life for me is health and a good job where you earn quite a good salary” (Interviewee 1, mid-educated).*

This was the answer to the open question about a good life in general, where the interviewee mentioned work among other aspects as important for a good life. Participants from both groups interpreted work alike as an activity you do for others to earn money.

The aspect of health is also not included in the PERMA-Model but the interviewees mentioned this aspect often in their interviews. Mainly the interviewees described physical health as important, but a few also talked about mental health problems that they want to avoid. *That falling into a hole, that you can see at the beginning of the pension time by a few people. I think that is really dangerous and that is also a phase wherein the suicide risk increases for a relative short time.” (Interviewee 6, highly-educated).* The aspect of health, where the researchers made no differentiation between statements of physical and mental health, was mentioned by highly-educated people on average 2.6 times per interview and by mid-educated people on average 3.1 times per interview. Health was mentioned by all respondents, no matter which education level they had. The difference in the frequency of mentioning this code was 8.8%. Based on these results it seems as if the aspect of health importantly contributes to the good life. There were no big differences between the people of the two educational levels in describing health.

The code ‘activities’ was about which things people do in their free time for example statements about their hobby received the code ‘activities’. *“For me my hobby plays a role, it stands behind me in the corner. You can also see parts of it here. I am a keyboard musician, piano, organ and accordion.” (Interviewee 6, highly-educated).* It was mentioned 2,1 times per interview by highly-educated people and 1,2 times by mid-educated people on average. There was a difference in naming this code between the two groups from 27,2%. This aspect does not belong to the PERMA-Model but for many people it plays a role in the good life. It was described similar by people of both groups but highly-educated people mentioned it nearly twice as often than mid-educated people and so there is a noticeable difference in the frequency of naming this code

Material things like a house or a big car, were mentioned on average 0,6 times per interview by highly-educated people and on average 1,1 times per interview by mid-educated people. This finding is noticeable since material things are nearly twice as often mentioned by people who are mid-educated compared to people who are highly-educated, the frequency difference there is 29.4%. It seems therefore that mid-educated rate material things as more important than highly-educated, whereby interviewees from the both groups described

material things alike. One respondent, described it as a big car, one as a big house but all interviewees described expensive possessions. An example is: *“Yes it was more about material things. A nice car, an own flat, living alone and yes a flat”* (Interviewee 1, mid-educated). When it comes to material things there also needs to be discussed the aspect of money. The respondents said that it is not essential for the good life, but it contributes to it, because it makes many things possible: *“The financial aspect need not to be neglected or even left on the outside. Without some financial advantages, that we have, some engagement or inversely some holiday would not have been possible”* (Interviewee 6, highly-educated). In this case it becomes obvious that the financial aspect is not important as a goal alone but rather it can serve as a means for a certain purpose, so for example it can serve as a mean for the material things that were already mentioned. Money was mentioned on average 1.9 times per interview by highly-educated people and 1.6 times on average per interview by mid-educated people and the difference in the frequencies between the both groups was 8.6%.

The last aspect that is worth naming, is “Attitude towards life”. This code was given to statements where people described their own or the attitude of others towards life. *“That are the people, I say, there are positive and there are negative thinking people. For the negative thinking people, you can do whatever you want, no matter what you do but all the things are crap”* (Interviewee 5, highly-educated). This aspect is worth mentioning because it was only mentioned by highly-educated people. Mid educated people did not talk about this topic and because of that the difference in the frequency of mentioning this code was 100%. Highly-educated people talked about this topic on average 0,8 times per full interview.

## Discussion

The research questions of this study were: “Do the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model belong according to German people, to a good life?”, and: “Do people with different educational backgrounds differ in their description of the aspects belonging to a good life?” The results show that the interviewees rate the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model as important for the good life but there were found more aspects that could play a role in the good life. Many of the aspects were described by the interviewees in compliance with the definition of Seligman (2012).

The first aspect mentioned in the PERMA-Model is the aspect of positive emotions. The participants described many different situations which triggered positive emotions in them and many of them connected positive emotions to success. According to Seligman

‘positive emotions’ are experienced by people in different ways and he also stated in 2012 that positive emotions can contribute to success. So the descriptions of Seligman and the interviewees match and therefore ‘positive emotions’ seems to belong to the good life.

The aspect of engagement was understood by the participants in a different way than Seligman described it. He described engagement as a kind of flow while completing a task, which means that persons become so involved in a task that they e.g. forget about time completely (Seligman, 2012). The interviewees on the contrary mostly defined this aspect as social engagement thus as the effort to help others. Only a few respondents talked about “personal engagement”. By that they meant to strive towards an own goal and to be interested in achieving it. So the results show that ‘engagement’ according to the participants belongs to the good life, even if it is not exactly the kind of engagement Seligman referred to.

Relationships are one more element in the PERMA-Model. The descriptions of relationships from the interviewees matched the descriptions of relationships given in the PERMA-Model for example relationships as relations to family, friends and colleagues. Relationships are described the same way in the PERMA-Model and according to the interviewees and thus this aspect plays according to the interviewees a role in the good life.

Meaning is described by Seligman as the feeling of doing something that helps to achieve or to strive towards a higher goal. The interviewees described the aspect of ‘meaning’ as the feeling of doing something that helps to achieve a higher goal. The interviewees stated that this kind of meaning belongs to a good life.

The last aspect mentioned in the PERMA-Model is the aspect of accomplishment. Interviewees often connected accomplishments to relationships but in the PERMA-Model this aspect of accomplishment was originally described as an achievement unrelated to other aspects and often just for the own sake. That means that the term accomplishment in the PERMA-Model does not fit perfectly the descriptions of the interviewees. A possible reason why the respondents in this study, did not interpret accomplishment in the same way as Seligman did, might be, that he created the PERMA-Model in English. The interviewees may have interpreted this term in regards of meaning of the word in their own German language. Language barriers can lead to misunderstandings and thus less credibility of specific results of a study (Squires, 2008), and this could have happened here. The German interviewees might have understood the term ‘accomplishment’ more as ‘success’ and therefore they connected it to relationships instead of the term ‘accomplishment’ that is unrelated to other aspects. So because of this misunderstanding it is not clear if the aspect of ‘accomplishment’ as Seligman meant it, belongs according to interviewees to the good life.



The aspect of work was mentioned often by the respondents but is not included in the PERMA-Model. A study that did research in the field of work confirms that a paid job contributes importantly to a higher state of well-being (Drobnič, Benham & Präg, 2010). But is a paid work necessary for the good life, in which way it contributes to a good life and are there differences between the German interviewees of this study and other people around the world? Further research could try to give answers to those questions.

During the interviews, especially by the first open question for the good life in general, many interviewees mentioned the aspect of health as contributing to a good life as well. All interviewees said, that health is important for them to can live a good life. A good life consists of many positive aspects so the aspect of health might also plays a role in it. Maybe that is because many positive aspects in life are linked to greater health outcomes (Aspinwall & Tedeschi, 2010). Khaw & Kern (2014) also found in their study where they evaluated the PERMA-Model with the help of the PERMA-Profiler, that health can contribute to a good life. It seems that there is a link between flourishing and health. So not only the aspects mentioned in the PERMA-Model contribute according to the interviewees to a good life but health belongs to the good life too. Further research could explore in which way health contributes to the good life or if it is a necessary factor that enables people to flourish.

To answer the second question if there is a difference in the descriptions of the good life between highly- and mid-educated people it is necessary to talk about the code 'activities'. The term 'activities' was mentioned more by highly-educated people. They mentioned more often their hobbies, activities and social events than people from the mid-educated group to describe a good life. This might be explainable because extracurricular activities, thus activities that are not related to a school- or a work-task can affect students in a positive way. Such activities help students for example to be successful later in life (Massoni, 2011). So it seems like these activities can influence the life as an adult and the people who participate in extracurricular activities also have a more positive attitude towards school what might help them to achieve higher grades. Because these results were based on a sample that includes different students, they can give clues why higher educated people mention more often extracurricular activities. But such activities do not only have an effect on students or people who are in school because leisure activities have a positive effect on people in general (Brajša-Žganec, Merkaš, & Šverko, 2010). Thus, people with a higher education referred more often to activities that they do in their free-time than mid-educated people.

Another term where there was a difference in the frequency of naming the code between the two educational levels is 'material things'. Mid-educated people mentioned the

aspect of material things notably more often than people with a higher education. This might be because people with a higher education often have a better paid job (Tingting, 2016). Many jobs today have higher educational requirements (Carnevale, Smith & Strohl, 2013) and on this way people with a higher education might have more certainty with relation to their income, because they might find a job more quickly if they lost theirs than mid-educated people. Maybe for high educated people material things do not matter in the same way then they might matter for mid-educated people because they are more ‘used’ to a job and their income. Mid-educated people might strive for these things because they do not have them yet. While talking about material things it must be mentioned that there was no big difference between the educational levels in mentioning the aspect of money. People from both groups stated that it is a mean for a purpose but it does not play a big role in the good life. So it seems that money and material things are not the same things for the participants. The views about material things were different between people with different levels of education but the views about money were nearly the same. Further research could try to explore the reasons for this difference.

The code ‘attitude towards life’ is notable because it was only mentioned by highly-educated people but not once by mid-educated people. Maybe highly-educated individuals have a special kind of attitude towards life. As mentioned in the introduction a higher education can help people to cope with problems (Frey & Stutzer, 2010). A study (Lin, Liu, & Yuan, 2001) found that a positive attitude might help to perform better in a given task. The implication is that it might be useful to explore the field of the code attitude towards life or the aspect of attitude in general, to enable people to reach special goals so that they can live a good life. So there was a difference between the two education levels namely that the highly educated people named this code and mid-educated people did not.

Limitations of this study were that the interview scheme did not fit perfectly. Some interviewees said that they already gave answer to a question asked by the researcher. *“That is already answered. Actually that are exactly the things I mentioned earlier”* (Interviewee 7). Through these kinds of double-questions that were already answered, the interviewees gave short answers if they gave any answers at all to such questions. Maybe, because of that, they did not expressed their full opinion on an aspect. In this way they might have not mentioned more things that play a role in the good-life. Thus, the researchers could have not gained eventually more helpful answers to analyse them for the results of this study. A suggestion for further research is to formulate the questions regarding the PERMA-Model in a way, so that the interviewees do not have the feeling that they have to repeat themselves. Further

researches may could work with a questionnaire that includes the possibility to skip some questions if they were answered already.

Many interviewees did not understand the term ‘engagement’ in the way Seligman did. In this study, the question for engagement was formulated open, without giving definitions, on purpose to not make the participants feel that they only have to talk about engagement if it has relevance to the term Seligman used. Through this the participants told freely what they understand under the term ‘engagement’. In this way, they stated that social engagement is important to them. With a question about engagement as a state of flow the participant might not have discussed social engagement. That means that there might not have been found a difference between the term that Seligman used and the meaning of the term for many people. Further studies that want to know something about the engagement Seligman described might has to ask especially for that side of engagement.

The last limitation of this study was, that no inter-rater reliability was calculated, although three researchers analysed and coded the interviews. That was done because there was a discussion about the codes at the beginning of the coding-process and then the researchers should have the chance to interpret the statements of the participants on their own. Most of the interviews were analysed by the researchers who held them with the participants and in this way they could interpret statements not only according to the words, but they also were able to remember and interpret statements according to the body language the participants used. If there was a fixed schedule that only accounts for the words, the researchers might have lost something of the ‘real’ meaning of some statements. Nevertheless, future studies should include that process of calculation an inter-rater reliability, if there is more than one researcher involved, who does the coding. In this way the consistency of the codes the researchers give, would be ensured. That might be useful if many interviews have to be analysed in a big study and therefore many researchers are needed to analyse them.

With regard to the research questions it can be concluded that all the aspects, mentioned in the PERMA-Model, were found to belong to the good life, but there were some additional factors that might also play a role in the good life. These factors were health and work. Furthermore, people with different levels of education differed in their description of the codes engagement, activities, material things and attitude towards life.

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## Appendix

Table A

Codescheme

Codes	1st Level	2nd Level	Examples
Activities	Hobbies	General activities like the planning of the own free time.	“For me my hobby plays a role, it stands behind me in the corner. You can also see parts of it here. I am a keyboard musician, piano, organ and accordion.” (Interviewee 6)
Work	Education, Job	Goals at work	“[...] and that everyone has a good working climate. So that there is no dispute or something like that (Gianna)
Relationship	Family, Friends	Work-relationships or relations you need to have to reach a goal	“The topic today is to start a family and to raise children so that they can live their lives on their own.” (Interviewee 5)
Success	Social, personal, at the job	Goals you reached	“That you say: “I have a goal, I reach this goal”, that is a success. It can be in the private life, if you decide to run a marathon and you complete this run. Then it is a success.” (Interviewee 5)
Money	Prosperity		“That is somehow important to have money, to be wealthy. Because if you have a bit of money you can do things you could not do before.” (Interviewee 4)
Enjoyment	Food and Drinks,	Environment	“Good food is one thing.” (Interviewee 1)
Health	Well-being	To live healthy, healthy food	“That it stays the same as long as possible..... that there are no health problems.” (Interviewee 3)
Attitude to life	Positive, negative		“That are the people, I say, today there are people who think positive and people who think negative. For the people who think negative you can do all you want, no matter what you do, everything, always is crap.” (Interviewee 5)
Personal engagement	Private goals		“That you are prepared to interest yourself or to spent time and money on one topic, without pressure or force of somebody else.

			To care about the things you are interested in or to complete it.” (Interviewee 5)
Positive emotion	Personal and social	Enjoyment of positive emotions in others	“If you make others happy, if you surprise them with something that you have devised yourself. If they enjoy that thing, that are positive emotions.” (Interviewee 5)
Travels			“For example to go on holiday or something like that. That is always nice because there you can relax.” (Interviewee 4)
Religion	Personal beliefs about a higher force	Destiny	“As far as the future is concerned I dare to make a prognosis. I live today and only this is under my control. Yesterday is history and I say tomorrow rests in the hand of god”. (Interviewee 6)
Mean	Relationships, non-material things, things that stays even if you are not	Goals	“That you do what leads to results that are not only satisfactory to you but also to the people you have to deal with. That is meaningful to me. That means not to do things that you only can enjoy for a moment but something that brings further a development or a community.” (Interviewee 7)
Other*	Statements that fit not into a category		
Carelessness	Future		“I think of safety and tranquillity, to know what happens tomorrow.” (Interviewee 2)
Social engagement	Help others or to stand up for them	Church, community, sport club, politics	“Furthermore, I will stand up against discrimination and exploitation of the nature of and of other creatures.” (Interviewee 2)
Satisfaction	Satisfaction with own live	Overall well-being	“Satisfaction, that you put a big part of your dreams and wishes into action.” (Interviewee 5)
Material things	Private property		“Yes I think of a big car.” (Interviewee 1)



Table B ISCED 11 Education Levels in Germany

**Zuordnung nationaler Bildungsabschlüsse zur ISCED 2011**

ISCED-Stufe Ausrichtung	Unter- kategorie	Bildungsabschlüsse
<b>Niedrig</b>		
<b>ISCED 1 Primarbereich</b>		
ISCED 10 allgemeinbildend	100	Ohne allgemeinen Schulabschluss und ohne beruflichen Abschluss
	100	Abschluss nach höchstens 7 Jahren Schulbesuch und ohne beruflichen Abschluss
<b>ISCED 2 Sekundarbereich I</b>		
ISCED 24 allgemeinbildend	244	Hauptschul-/Realschulabschluss/Abschluss der Polytechnischen Oberschule der DDR (POS) und ohne beruflichen Abschluss
	244	Hauptschul-/Realschulabschluss/POS und Anlembausbildung/Berufliches Praktikum
	244	Hauptschul-/Realschulabschluss/POS und Berufsvorbereitungsjahr
ISCED 25 berufsbildend	254	Ohne Hauptschulabschluss und Anlembausbildung/Berufliches Praktikum
	254	Ohne Hauptschulabschluss und Berufsvorbereitungsjahr
<b>Mittel</b>		
<b>ISCED 3 Sekundarbereich II</b>		
ISCED 34 allgemeinbildend	344	Fachhochschulreife/Hochschulreife und ohne beruflichen Abschluss
ISCED 35 berufsbildend	354	Abschluss einer Lehrausbildung
	354	Berufsqualifizierender Abschluss an Berufsfachschulen/Kollegschen
	353	Abschluss eines kurzen Bildungsganges an einer Ausbildungsstätte/Schule des Gesundheitswesens
	353	Abschluss des Vorbereitungsdienstes für den mittleren Dienst in der öffentlichen Verwaltung
<b>ISCED 4 Postsekundärer nichttertiärer Bereich</b>		
ISCED 44 allgemeinbildend	444	---
ISCED 45 berufsbildend	454	Fachhochschulreife/Hochschulreife und Abschluss einer Lehrausbildung <sup>1)</sup>
	454	Fachhochschulreife/Hochschulreife und berufsqualifizierender Abschluss an Berufsfachschulen/Kollegschen <sup>1)</sup>
	454	Fachhochschulreife/Hochschulreife und Abschluss eines kurzen Bildungsganges an einer Ausbildungsstätte/Schule des Gesundheitswesens <sup>2)</sup>
	454	Fachhochschulreife/Hochschulreife und Abschluss des Vorbereitungsdienstes für den mittleren Dienst in der öffentlichen Verwaltung <sup>3)</sup>
	454	Fachhochschulreife/Hochschulreife und Abschluss eines 2- oder 3-jährigen Bildungsganges an einer Ausbildungsstätte/Schule für Gesundheits- und Sozialberufe <sup>4)</sup>
	453	Ohne Fachhochschulreife/Hochschulreife und Abschluss eines 2- oder 3-jährigen Bildungsganges an einer Ausbildungsstätte/Schule für Gesundheits- und Sozialberufe

### **Informed consent form**

Title research: Are the elements of the PERMA model a description of the good life?

Responsible researcher: Noortje Kloos

Students: Meike Keseberg, Tizian Eckhardt, Sarah Leimkötter

### **Informationtext**

Many people argue about the key to a good life and there is still no answer found. On behalf of the University of Twente we have formed a research group to study the good life. We would like to know what your understanding of a good life, to compare people's description about the good life with the PERMA model of Seligman (2011). We will come back to the theory in more detail afterwards. The interview will probably take 30 minutes. It is important to note, that there are no wrong answers. The participation of the study is voluntary and can be terminated at any time. The conversation gets recorded to write it out afterwards. Your personal data will be made anonymous, to avoid that inferences can be drawn about your data. All the informations will only be used in concerns of research and will not be given to a third party.

### **To be completed by the participant**

I declare in a manner obvious to me, to be informed about the nature, method and target of the investigation.

I know that the data and results of the study will only be published anonymously and confidentially to third parties. My questions have been answered satisfactorily.

I understand that the record content will be used only for analysis and scientific presentations.

I voluntarily agree to take part in this study. While I reserve the right to terminate my participation in this study without giving a reason at any time.

Name participant: .....

Date:

.....

Signature participant: .....

### **To be completed by the executive researcher**

I have given an spoken and written explanation of the study. I will answer remaining questions about the investigation into power. The participant will not suffer any adverse consequences in case of any early termination of participation in this study.

Name

researcher: .....

Date:

.....

Signature researcher: .....

## Interview scheme

At the beginning we would like to ask you some general questions. Please note that you can always ask if something is unclear to you.

### *First part: Personal information*

1. How old are you?
2. What is the highest educational achievement that you have reached?
  - 2a. Are you at the moment busy in the education system?
  - 2b (If in the education system) What is your expectation with the desired educational achievement?
3. Do you have a job?
  - 3a. Which job do you have?
4. In which country are you born?
  - 4a. **(If not born in Germany)** How long do you already live in Germany?
  - 4b. **(If not born in Germany)** Do you live according to your originally culture or according to german values?
5. Which country are your parents from?
  - 5a. **(If not 4a/4b are not asked)** Do you live according to your parent's culture?

### *Second part: Open questions*

Now we would like to ask you some open questions which will refer to your personal definition of a "Good life". The first question is:

1. What does a good life mean for you?
  - 1a Can you also think about something else? Think about other areas in your life.
2. What does a good include for you in different times of your life? Think about future, the present day and history

### *Third part: The PERMA model*

The field of positive psychology wants to find out which aspects a "good life" includes. Seligman, one of the psychologists in this field, developed a model which tries to describe a "good life" According to the model a good life consists of: positive emotions, engagement, relations, meaning and accomplishments. The following questions will ask for these 5 aspects.

1. What does positive emotion mean for you?
  - 1a. In which situations do you experience positive emotions?
  - 1b. Do positive emotions belong for you to a good life?
2. What means engagement for you?
  - 2a. Does this aspect belong for you to a good life?
3. What means relationships for you?
  - 3a. Can you give examples of relationships?
  - 3b. Does this aspect belong for you to a good life?
4. What is meaning for you?
  - 4a. Does this aspect belong for you to a good life?
5. What means accomplishment for you?

5a. Does this aspect belong for you to a good life?

Now we talked about positive emotions, engagement, relationships, meaning and accomplishments. As already mentioned Seligman claims that all these aspects belongs to a good life.

6. Are there other aspects which belong to good life and are missing here?

We are now at the end of our interview. If you are interested in the results of the study, you can leave your email address in this list, we will then contact you.  
Thanks for your participation

Tabelle C

*Codes and Translation*

Codes	Translation
<p>“I would say positive emotions are things, where I have little successes in life. It could be that one of my children make the degree they want. Or may it be for me, that I get an appropriate position at work or that I get appreciated for the work I am doing”</p>	<p>“Positive Emotionen würde ich sagen ok, das sind Sachen, wo ich mich halt ähm, kleine Erfolge im privaten Leben hab. Sei es vielleicht, dass eins von meinen Kindern den Abschluss schafft, den es gerne haben möchte, sei es für mich, das ich halt auf der Arbeit vielleicht eine entsprechende Stelle bekomme oder halt entsprechend Wert geschätzt werde, für die Arbeit die ich mache.“</p>
<p>“I think engagement was made clear in the things that I already mentioned. I see a series of tasks where I can bring in myself. That is in politics, the community work, the work for the church”</p>	<p>„Engagement, glaube ich ist indem bisher schon Gesagten deutlich geworden. Ich sehe eine ganze Reihe Aufgaben, wo ich mich einbringen kann. Das ist die Politik, das ist Gemeindearbeit, das ist Arbeit in der Kirche, also Gemeinde im Sinne von Gemeinschaft, von Kirche“</p>
<p>“That you are prepared to interest yourself or to spent time and money on one topic, without pressure or force of somebody else. To care about the things, you are interested in of to complete it”          “There are different kinds of relationships. One kind are relationships that I need to achieve somewhere specific goals, to can make a progress”</p>	<p>„Das man bereit ist ohne äh, Druck oder Zwang von jemand anderem sich für einen äh Thema, ein Vorhaben zu interessieren, dafür Zeit und Geld zu opfern. Um das wofür man sich interessiert zu pflegen oder auch um zu setzen in seinem Vorhaben.“          „Beziehungen gibt es verschiedene. Also einmal sind die Beziehungen, die ich brauche um vielleicht irgendwo gewisse Ziele zu erreichen, um weiter zu kommen.“</p>
<p>“Under relationships I understand an interaction with objects, with persons and with other living creatures”</p>	<p>„Unter Beziehungen äh verstehe ich, ähm eine Interaktion seitdem, die Interaktion mit Gegenständen, mit Personen mit anderen Lebewesen, die äh ja auf Empathie oder eben auch nicht basiert sind und die ähm fortlaufen.“</p>
<p>“To have the sense in live, at the end a sense and an aim, to know that our live is more than 60 or 80 years, for some only 20 or less”</p>	<p>„Den Sinn im Leben zu haben, Sinn und Ziel letztendlich zu haben, zu Wissen unser Leben besteht nicht nur hier aus 60 oder 80 Jahren, für manche nur 20 oder sogar weniger.“</p>
<p>“That is elemental in our lives, or I strive for to get my share, that the Yes of God applies to me”</p>	<p>„Äh das ist ganz elementar wichtig und äh unser Leben ist eigentlich darauf ausgerichtet, oder ich bin bemüht meinen Teil dazu bei zu tragen, dass äh das Ja Gottes mir gilt, in meinem persönlichen Leben.“</p>
<p>“Meaning refers for me to have a good school education, that is important. That you reach something great at the job”          “Yes, otherwise you are insecure, have no internally drive and then, I would say, you</p>	<p>„Der Sinn ist für mich eigentlich, dass man, ne gute schulische Ausbildung hat, das ist halt wichtig, dass man halt irgendwas tolles erreicht im Beruf.“          „Ja ansonsten hat man kein, kein inneren Halt, keinen inneren Drang, keinen Antrieb und dann, würde ich mal so</p>

will vegetate on your own and then I would say it is no good life.”

“That is also a little success, if you have vacation after a half year, that is great”

“Success in the private life is if you succeed in living in an intact net of relationships. In the family, in the circle of friends and acquaintances.”

“Yes, you do not want to have only failures but it is no more important to me in this age.”

“I think of safety and tranquillity, to know what happens tomorrow”

“A good life is for me health and a good job where you earn a quite good salary”

“The financial aspect need not to be neglected or even left on the outside. Without some financial advantages, that we have, some engagement or inversely some holiday would not have been possible”

“That are the people, I say, there are the positive and there are the negative thinking people. By the negative thinking people, you can do all you want, no matter what you do but all the things are crap”

“Actually, I would say no, because you can bring in on all the things that matter. So, for example good friends, that is important and belongs under the topic of relationships”

„Yes, it was more about material things. A nice car, an own flat, living alone and yes a flat.”

“That falling into a hole, that you can see at the beginning of the pension time by a

formulieren, dann vegetiert man so vor sich hin und ab da würde ich es mal als nicht ein gutes Leben bezeichnen.“

„Ist ja auch so ein kleiner Erfolg wenn man so nach einem halben Jahr wieder Urlaub hat ne Woche oder so, das ist dann auch schön“

„Also Erfolg im Privatleben ist, wenn man, wenn es einem gelingt, in einem intakten Beziehungsgeflecht zu leben. Innerhalb der Familie, im Freundeskreis im Bekanntenkreis.“

„Ja. Was Erfolg, ja gut nur Misserfolge will man natürlich nicht haben aber äh mir ist es auch nicht mehr so wichtig in dem Alter.“

„Ähm ich glaube Sicherheit und Ruhe, ähm irgendwie wissen, was morgen passiert.“

„Also gutes Leben für mich ist, Gesundheit. Wenn man gesund ist, ähm ein gute Job, wo man also vernünftigen verdienen.“

„Der finanzielle Aspekt, darf nicht vernachlässigt werden, oder gar außen vor bleiben. Ohne gewisse finanzielle Voraussetzungen, die wir haben, äh wäre manches Engagement, wäre auch mancher Urlaub umgekehrt nicht möglich.“

„Das sind halt so die, das sind die ich sag mal, man sagt heutzutage es gibt die positiv denkenden Menschen und die negativ denkenden Menschen. Die negativ denkenden Menschen äh, da kann man machen was man will, egal was man macht es ist immer nur alles Mist.“

„Eigentlich würde ich sagen nicht, weil man kann da alles rein ähm reinbringen, auch zum Beispiel, was wichtig ist, gute Freunde, ist wichtig und es gehört ja auch zu Beziehung dazu.“

„Ja es ging mehr um Materielles. Wenn ich eine Auto, mein schönes Auto, eigene Wohnung, allein Leben, Wohnung.“

„Das in ein Loch fallen, was man bei Beginn, zu Beginn des Rentnerdaseins bei einigen beobachten kann äh halte ich für

few people. I think that is really dangerous and that is also a phase wherein the suicide risk increases for a relative short time.”

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sehr gefährlich und da ist ja auch eine Phase, wo auch beispielsweise die Suizidgefahr nochmal äh deutlich äh kurze Zeit, relativ kurze Zeit nochmal ansteigt.“